

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION WASHINGTON DC 20163

Mark H. Tuohey III, Esq Vinson & Elkins LLP 1455 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW, Suite 600 Washington, DC 20004

OCT 2 6 2006

RE MUR 5758
Pierce O'Donnell

Dear Mr Tuohey

Based on a complaint filed with the Federal Election Commission on May 30, 2003, and information supplied by your client, the Commission, on April 14, 2004, found that there was reason to believe your client, Pierce O'Donnell, violated 2 U S C § 441f, and instituted an investigation of this matter

shifter considering all the evidence available to the Commission, the Office of the Gunstal Commission find probable cause to believe that a knowing and willful violation has occurred

The Commission may or may not approve the General Counsel's recommendation. Submitted for your review is a brief stating the position of the General Counsel on the legal and factual issues of the case. Within 15 days of your receipt of this notice, you may file with the Secretary of the Commission a brief (ten copies if possible) stating your position on the issues and replying to the brief of the General Counsel. (Three copies of such brief should also be forwarded to the Office of the General Counsel, if possible.) The Council Counsel's brief and any brief that you may submit will be considered by the Commission before processing to a vote on whether three is probable cause to believe a unission has calculated.

If you are unable to file a mapaneous brack within 15 days, you may submit a written request for an extension of time. All requests for extensions of time must be submitted in writing five days prior to the due date, and good cause must be demonstrated. In addition, the Office of the General Counsel ordinarily will not give extensions beyond 20 days

A finding of probable cause to believe requires that the Office of the General Counsel attempt for a period of net less than 30, but not more than 90 days, to settle this matter through a conciliation agreement

Should you have any questions, please contact Audra Wassom, the attorney assigned to this matter, at (202) 694-1650

Sincerely,

Lawrence H Norton

General Counsel

Enclosure Brief

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BEFORE THE FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the Matter of)	·			
Pierce O'Donnell)	MUI	R 5758		
GENERAL COUNSEL'S BRIEF						
I.	INTRODUCTION					
	In 2003, the Commission reco	eived a compla	int alleging that variou	s law firms across the		
country may have ramphassed employees for contributions to John Edwards's presidential						
campaign committee, Edwards for President ("the Edwards Committee") Among the firms						
listed in the complaint was O'Donnell & Shaeffer LLP ("the Firm"), a law firm in Los Angeles						
founded by Pierce O'Donnell, a prominent trial attorney who has over twenty-five years of						
political fundraising experience						
On April 14, 2004, the Commission found reason to believe that Pierce O'Donnell						
violated 2 U S C § 441f O'Donnell submitted a response to the Commission's factual and legal						
analysis, through counsel, denying having been reimbursed for his contribution to the Edwards						
Committee and remaining silent on whether he reimbursed others' committees O'Donnell						
continued to sengun silbut as thus matter progressed, sefusing to comperate with the investigation						
and asserting his Figh Amandment privilege in response to the Commission's Subposes to						
Produce Dozuments and Order to Answer Questions in July 2004 and in response to a						
deposition subpoens issued in June 2006 See Affidavit of Pierce O'Donnell dated June 16,						
2006	Notwithstanding the absence	of testimony fr	om O'Donnell, an inv	estigation has shown		

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that he used his personal funds and Firm resources to spearhead a scheme to reimburse

2 contributions to the Edwards Committee As detailed below, O'Donnell reimbursed 16 people

3 for a total of \$32,000 in contributions made to the Edwards Committee

Although O'Donnell has not disputed the facts discovered during the investigation, his attorney has recently presented a new explanation for G'Donnell's actions previously undisgnessed mental disputers effected O'Donnell's behavior at the time of the alleged remitmentation of Donnell's attorney has also substitted letters from these denicus—more of whom treated Q'Donnell in 2003—who opine in how various mantal illnesses, such as bipolar disorder, may have affected O'Donnell at the time of the alleged violations. As we explain below, however, the undisputed facts show that O'Donnell knew that the law prohibited reimbursing contributions, yet he did so anyway. Therefore, the Office of General Counsel intends to recommend that the Commission find probable cause to believe that Pierce O'Donnell knowingly and willfully violated 2 U S C § 441f

II. SUMMARY OF THE RECORD

A. Pierce O'Donnell's Background

Pierce O'Donnell, 59 years old, is a prominent litigator who has handled numerous complex cases in a variety of fields, including antitrust, entertainment, intellectual property, energy, securities, products irability, real estate, constitutional haw, and firmum Ska http://www.oslaw.com/whoweare_partners01 html, visited Sept. 5, 2006. A graduate of Georgetown and Yale, O'Donnell clerked for Supreme Court Justice Byron R. White and has been named one of the "100 Most Influential Lawyers in America" by the National Law Journal

² This issue had never previously been raised during the three years that this matter was pending. O'Donnell's attorney explained that it was not raised anglest because questions about O'Donnell's mental health only "began to crystallize when viewed through a collective prism of persons concerned about the mens rea questions that emerged in this investigation." Letter dated July 14, 2006 at 3

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1 See id In 1996, O'Donnell founded O'Donnell & Shaeffer, which in 2003 had seventeen or 2 eighteen attorneys (Latinovic Tr at 20-21)

In addition to his legal work, O'Donnell has over twenty-five years of substantial experience in political fundraising. In 1980, O'Donnell ran for Congress, at which time he sought an advisory opinion from the Commission about whether compensation from his law firm would constitute a contribution. See Advisory Opinion 1980-115. In 1992 and 1996, O'Donnell served an the national finance committee of Bill Clinton's paradomizal companyes. In addition, O'Donnell has southbuted over \$50,000 to finiteful conflictes and national party committees over the past eight years. O'Donnell has also been active in local politics, arranging fundraisers and soliciting funds for local candidates. Finally, O'Donnell has written about local elections and campaign finance reform. See http://www.oslaw.com/whoweare/POD%20Resume.pdf, visited Sept. 5, 2006.

B. O'Donnell Reimbursed Contributions to John Edwards's Presidential Gampaign

In early 2003, Pierce O'Donnell agreed to be a fundraiser for the Edwards Committee, and he sponsored a "meet and greet" breakfast event with Senator Edwards. The invitations for this event were sent by letter on Firm stationery and were segmed by O'Donnell. The event, which occurred on March 1, 2003 at a leated in Beverly Hells, was organized birgally by O'Donnell's longtime personal assistant at the Firm, Dolores Valdez. (Latinovic Tr. at 59-60) Valdez, at the request of O'Donnell, made logistical arrangements for the event and invited potential guests. (Latinovic Tr. at 59-60). Approximately 50 of O'Donnell's friends and colleagues attended the event, including individuals from the Firm.

The campaign staffer for the Edwards Committee assigned to the southern California region, Molly Morris, stated in an interview with Commission staff that the event was planned

entirely by O'Donnell Morris also stated that she sent O'Donnell the campaign's standard

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packet for fundraisers, which provided instructions on how to raise funds permissibly and specifically noted the prohibition on contributions made in the names of others. According to Morris, O'Donnell appeared to be an experienced fundraiser and did not ask many questions During the breakfast event. Senator Edwards indicated his campaign's need for funding. and a few attentices contributed at that time, while others contributed during the weeks that foliasved Afen the exert, both O'Donnell and his assistant. Bolorus Valdez, selecited individuals to contribute to the Edwards Committee, and they periodically communicated with Morris at the Edwards Gommittee regarding these additional contributions Overall, O'Donnell's efforts as a fundraiser led to 34 individuals contributing approximately \$50,000 to the Edwards Committee, though for unknown reasons the Edwards Committee apparently did not receive two of these contributions O'Donnell himself contributed \$2,000, and like other contributors, he signed the Edwards Committee's standard donor card, which states in part, "all contributions must be made from personal funds and cannot be reimbursed " Several employees at O'Donnell's firm contributed to the Edwards Committee Some of those employees, prantingly parallegals, stated that Valdez thick them that O'Donnell would reimburse them for their contributions 3 Other From employees, paintable attorneys, stated in swarm affidavits that they were not offered and did not remove a removement for their contributions As detailed below, our investigation has shown that O'Donnell wrote checks

totaling \$32,000 to reimburse 16 individuals who contributed to the Edwards Committee With

one exception, these reimbursements all occurred within four days of the dates the contributions

to the Edwards Committee were made See Attachment 1 (flow chart of reimbursements) These

³ Valdez has asserted her Fifth Amendment privilege and has not testified in this matter

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1 funds all originated from O'Donnell's personal bank account, though the money was sometimes

funneled through various individuals employed by the Firm before reaching the intended

3 recipients See id

1 Direct Reimbursements

O'Donnell directly reimbursed nine individuals are related to him his daughter, Meghan
O'Donnell, his sistem, Mary Raisen O'Donnell and Helan Wahl, and his brother-andaw, Gerald
Wahl The other five individuals who were directly reimbursed were man-lawyer evaployees of
the Firm Else Latinovic, Hilda Escobar, Bert Rodriguez, Elizabeth Owen, and Harry
Silberman ⁴ According to financial records, O'Donnell wrote personal checks to these
individuals around the time they contributed to the Edwards Committee, most often on the same
day as the contributions See Attachment 1 The checks to the employees contained the word
"bonus" on the memo line

2 Indirect Reimbursements

In addition to the nime direct reimbursements to the individuals listed above, O'Donnell also indirectly reimbursed seven other individuals who contributed \$2,000 each to the Edwards Committee. All of these inchisect manifestmentation were made through other employees of the First. O'Donnell wrote personal charks to these employees in a multiple of \$2,000, and the employees would then contribute \$2,000 to the Edwards Committee themselves and also give \$2,000 to a friend or family member who also contributed \$2,000 to the Edwards Committee See Attachment 1

⁴ Silberman's contribution does not appear to have been received by the Edwards Committee. In an interview with Commission staff, Silberman stated that he gave has credit card member to Valdez, O'Deanell's assument, for transmission to the Edwards Committee to make a contribution. The Edwards Committee, however, has no record of receiving a contribution from Silberman, and Silberman reports that his credit card was never charged.

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Three of these indirect reimbursements were made through Else Latinovic, the 2 administrator of the Firm Latinovic testified that she was approached by Valdez to contribute to 3 Edwards and was told that she would be reimbursed by O'Donnell (Latinovic Tr at 66-67, 77) 4 Latinovic initially balked at contributing because she personally did not support Edwards 5 (Latinovic Tr at 68) Latinovic conveyed that she thought it was mappropriate to ask employees to contribute, and she asked Valdez to speak with O'Donnell about her conterns (Latinovic Tr at 68) Valdez agrard to smeak with O'Donnell, and Valdez also exponently expressed 7 unhappiness timt O'Danvell asked her to solicit employees (Latinovio Tr 24 67-68) O'Donnell, however, reportedly told Valdez that she needed to do what he asked, and Valdez transmitted this information to Latinovic (Latinovic Tr at 69) Latinovic then agreed to 10 contribute, fearing that if she did not, O'Donnell would be angry and, through his position at the 11 Firm, possibly take adverse action against her 5 (Latinovic Tr at 110) 12 Because Latinovic believed it was inappropriate to solicit employees for contributions, 13 she told Valdez she would solicit her family to contribute so that other employees in the Firm 14 would not be placed in an uncomfortable position (Latinovic Tr at 70) Valdez agreed with this 15 proposal, and Latinovic subsequently seemed three \$2,900 contributions to the Edwards 16 17 Committee one from her methor, Anita Langevin, and two from family frauds, Russell and 18 Jacqueline Folsom (Latinovic Tr at 70-75) Per hor conversation with Valdez, Latinovic 19 promised all of them that O'Donnell would reimburse them for their contributions (Latinovic Tr at 70-75) Latinovic transmitted their contribution checks to Valdez, who gave her an \$8,000 20

check dated March 31, 2003, signed by Pierce O'Donnell That same day, Latinovic wrote three

⁵ After the allegations in this matter were reported by the media, Letinovic complained directly to O'Donnell, letting him know how upset she was that he put her in such a position (Distument Tr at 90-91) O'Dennell tald her that he was sorry this happened to her, but he promised that he would take care of everything and that the Firm would pay for her attorneys (Letinovic Tr at 91-92)

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1 checks aggregating \$8,000 one for \$2,000 to the Edwards Committee, one for \$2,000 to her

2 mother, and one for \$4,000 to Russell and Jacqueline Folsom

In addition to soliciting contributions through Latinovic, Valdez also approached paralegal Hilda Escobar and asked her to contribute, similarly telling her she would be reimbursed (Escobar Tr at 45) Escobar agreed to contribute and wrote a \$2,000 check to the Edwards Committee (Escobar Tr at 48) A few days later, Valdez again approached Escobar and asimil her if she know anyone also who would contribute, passessing that O'Donnell would reassbure them as well (Escobar Tr at 51) Hasokar than approached her father, Rafael Velasco, who agreed to contribute as a favor to O'Donnell (Escobar Tr at 52) Escobar transmitted her father's \$2,000 contribution check to Valdez and asked Valdez if more contributions were needed (Escobar Tr at 51) Valdez said no and later gave Escobar a \$4,000 check from O'Donnell to reimburse her for her and her father's contributions Id Valdez also gave Escobar donor cards from the Edwards Committee, telling her that they needed to be completed (Escobar Tr at 50, 53)

Other reimbursements also passed through multiple individuals. For example, on the same day that O'Duranol wrote the other reimbursement checks, he also wrote a \$4,000 check to Valdez. Although Valdez did not make a contribution, the passed on \$4,000 each to two other individuals who were to contribute to the Edmards Committee. First, she gave \$2,000 to her sister, Maria Saucedo, to make a contribution. Saucedo agreed to make the contribution as a favor to her sister after she was promised reimbursement. (Saucedo Tr. at 15-16) Second, Valdez wrote a \$2,000 check to Bert Rodriguez, an administrative employee at the Firm, and she

⁶ Although Saucedo filled out a donor card and provided her credit card number to make a contribution, the Edwards Committee has no record of receiving a contribution from her

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1 also gave him a separate check from Pierce O'Donnell for \$4,000 Rodriguez used the funds to

- 2 contribute \$2,000 to the Edwards Committee and to give \$2,000 each to his son, Johnny
- 3 Rodriguez, and Johnny's girlfriend, Christina Andujo, both of whom contributed \$2,000 to the
- 4 Edwards Committee after being promised they would be reimbursed (Rodriguez Tr at 83-84)
- 5 On July 24, 2004, the Edwards Committee refunded over \$44,000 in contributions that it
- 6 associated with O'Donnell One of those refunds was assued to O'Dennell's sister, Mary Eileen
- 7 O'Dentirell, who forwarded a nopy of her refund check to Precus O'Donnell with a note stating.
- 8 "What sheadd I do with thus? (stopy enclosed) It's really not mine" (emphasis in easginal)
- Valdez responded, "Mary Etleen, POD will call you about this "

C. O'Donnell Previously Reimbursed Contributions to James Hahn's Mayoral Campaign

The Edwards event was not the first time that O'Dannell used First sesources to organize a political event and reimburse contributions. In 2000, Los Angeles mayoral candidate James. Hahn attended a reception at the Firm's offices, which was organized in part by Valdez. (Latinovic Tr. at 37-38). In a reimbursement scheme that mirrors the activity in this matter, O'Donnell used \$25,500 of his personal funds to reimburse Firm employees, their friends, their relatives, and others for campaign contributions to James Hahn's majoral campaign. As in this matter, Dalores Valdez solicited contributions from Firm employees and assenged for these reimbursement from O'Donnell Likewise, only administrative employees—not attorneys—

O'Donnell reaently settled summal and sum! charges in Les Angeles relating to that matter O'Riomell pleated no contest to five counts of using a false name to make campaign contributions, and, in exchange, the prosecutor agreed to drop the remaining 21 counts. At sentencing, the court fined O'Donnell \$155,200, placed him on three years pushession, and beaut! him from partrapasting in any printingly finedrating for these years. In a subfaction agreement with the Los Angeles City Ethics Commission, O'Donnell admitted to committing "serious" violations of city law by making 26 contributions in names of others. Supulation, Decision, and Order of the Los Angeles City Ethics Commission, Case No. 2046-56, (him 14, 2006). As said of the sattlement, O'Donnell agreed in pay so administrative penalty of \$147,000. O'Donnell agreed a supposite settlement agreement with the Calabania Fair Political Practices Commission, in which he again admitted the violations and agreed to pay an additional \$72,000 administrative penalty.

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1 were reimbursed Those administrative employees have stated that the circumstances of the

2 Edwards contribution reimbursements were nearly identical to that of the Hahn contribution

3 reimbursements

III. ANALYSIS

The evidence has shown that Pierce O'Donnell deliberately attempted to circumvent contribution limits by functing exampling contributions through other individuals as violation of 2 U fl C § 44 lf, which probabits making a contribution in the name of smather. This probabition also applies to any person who provides money to others to effect contributions in their names 11 C F R § 110 4(b)(2). According to financial records and sworn testimony, O'Donnell directly or indirectly reimbursed sixteen individuals for \$32,000 in contributions to the Edwards. Committee 8

14	TOTAL	\$32,000
13	Indirect Reimbursements	\$14,000
12	Direct Reimbursements	218,000

Although O'Donnell has not disputed that the reimbursements detailed in the prior section violated the Act's prohibition on making contributions in the name of another,

O'Donnell's sticamy has segmed that O'Donnell and not knowingly and welfally scalar the law, citing resent residual avaluations of O'Donnell that purport to show that his past conduct was motivated by various mental disorders. As we demonstrate below, however, the undisputed facts exceed the probable cause threshold required for a knowing and willful finding

Additionsh an described above, the Hewards Committee reported restricting only \$25,000 of times normalizations;

O'Donnell and the Firm are still liable for making \$32,000 worth of contributions in the names of others 2 U S C § 441f. The Act's prohibition on making contributions in the name of another does not condition liability on such contributions attitually being received. See id. The Act diffiles "contribution" baselfly, and it includes funds given to influence a federal election, regardless of whether those funds are received by a political committee. 2 U S C § 431(8)(A)(1)

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The phrase "knowing and willful" indicates that "acts were committed with a knowledge of all the relevant facts and a recognition that the action is prohibited by law "HR Rpt 94-917 at 3-4 (Mar 17, 1976) (reprinted in Legislative History of Federal Election Campaign Act Amendments of 1976 at 803-4 (Aug. 1977)), see also National Right to Work Comm. v. FEC. 716 F 2d 1401, 1403 (D C Cir 1983) (citing AFL-CTO v FEC, 628 F 2d 97, 98, 101 (D C Cir 1980) for the proposition that "knowing and willful" means "defiance" or 'knowing conscient, and deliberate flamnums' [sm] of the Ami''), Unuted States v. Hispitani, 916 F. 2d 207, 214-15 (5th. Cir 1990) The Hopkins court also height that taking steps to disguise the source of funds used in illegal astruites might reasonably be explained as a "motivation to evade lawful obligations" Hopkins, 916 F 2d at 213-14 (citing Ingram v United States, 360 U S 672, 679 (1959)) (internal quotations omitted) A Section 441f violation, in which the true source of the funds used to make a contribution is withheld from the recipient committee, is inherently self-concealing In this case, there are several bases to conclude that O'Donnell knowingly and willfully violated the Act First, O'Donnell's decades of prior experience with political fundraising demonstrates his knowledge of the law From running for Congress to seeking an advisory 15 15 opizace to serving on the national finance examentice of a providential sumpaign. O'Donnell is a sombastancied political mater. Samued, O'Donnell massel a desay card may ried by the Indwards. Committee that explicitly stated that contributions cannot be combusted. There, the Edwards 19 Committee sent O'Donnell an informational packet that recited the prohibition on making 20 contributions in the name of another Fourth, O'Donnell developed an elaborate scheme to disguise the source of his contributions by using multiple levels of conduits, which deceived the 22 public of the true source of contributions Finally, O'Donnell included the word "bonus" on the

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1 memo line of the reimbursement checks to Firm employees, which suggests an intent to hide the 2 true purpose of the checks

O'Donnell's deliberate actions to flout the law are also evidenced by his involvement in a remarkably similar scheme to reimburse contributions to Los Angeles mayoral candidate James. Hahn in both the Los Angeles matter and this one, O'Donnell wrote personal checks to contributors in the same amount as the contributors gave to the candidate, usually on the same day of the contribution. In addition, O'Donnell skipented his sematant at the Firm, Dodores. Violdez, to solicit contributions ami offer reembursements. Also, are of the same candurit were used in both schemes. The nearly identical circumstances surrounding the reimbursements to Hahn and to the Edwards Committee demonstrate that O'Donnell's actions in this matter were not an isolated mistake, but rather were part of a pattern and practice to circumvent contribution limits.

O'Donnell has not disputed any of the aforementioned facts. Instead, he has remained silent, citing his Fifth Amendment privilege. O'Donnell's attorney, however, has recently argued that O'Donnell could not have formed the requisite intent to knowingly and willfully violate the law because of newly diagrassed mental disorders that supposedly affected O'Donnell at the time he reimburged centralishmes to noth the Hahn and Edwards emetalized. O'Donnell's attorney has also submitted secently completed letters from deatons who make various

⁹ Indeed, when settling the civil charges in Los Angeles, O'Donnell admitted that his actions were "designed to and resulted in substantial excess contributions in violation of the Charter's per person contribution limits " Stipulation, Decision, and Order of the Los Angeles City Ethics Commission, March 14, 2006

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conclusions about the effect of O'Donnell's purported mental disorders 10. Yet none of these 1 2 letters contradicts any facts that support concluding that the violation was knowing and willful 3 To the contrary, some of the information actually supports a knowing and willful finding. For example, one letter explicitly acknowledges that O'Donnell was "intellectually conversant with 4 the apposite legal requirements" and that he acted despite the explicit concerns raised by Valdez 5 because he reewed the law as "irrelevant" Letter from Mitrk J Mills, JD, M D, thitdel July 31. 6 2006, at 4 This sintement further establishes that O'Bancell acted knowledly and willfully in 7 8 this matter he knew that the law probabited remainiring contributions, yet he chose to do so 9 anyway

In sum, an investigation has discovered substantial evidence of knowing and willful conduct by O'Donnell In addition, given that O'Donnell has asserted his Fifth Amendment privilege in response to the Commission's subpoenss, the Commission may draw an adverse inference from O'Donnell's refusal to testify in this matter. See Baxter v. Palmigiano, 425 U.S. 308, 318 (1976), SEC v. Gemstar-TV Guide Int I, Inc., 401 F. 3d 1031, 1046 (9th Cir. 2005). ("Ip]arties are free to invoke the Fifth Amendment in civil cases, but the court is equally free to draw adverse inferences from their failure of proof") quoting SEC v. Colsilo, 139 F. 3d 674, 677 (9th Cir. 1998). Therefore, based on the extension descriptions deviationed in this

¹⁰ For example, one letter concludes that "in approving reimbursements to his firm's employees for contributions to the Edwards cappage, Mr. ©'Disnaili was inflamed largely by his impaig hipsian desorder such theralthough he knew (intellectual awareness) what his conduct was[.] doing it was neither willful (intentionally disregarding the law) nor deliberate (specifically designed to flout the law)." Letter from Mark J Mills, J D, M D, dated July 31, 2006, at 4. Another letter discusses a "direct nexus" between O'Donnell's purported bipolar disorder and his reimbursements of contributions to the Hahn campaign. Letter from Daniel A Martell, Ph D, A B P P, dated July 8, 2006, at 1.1. Nontificials, will the doctors agree that O'Daniell's altigud minutal disorders affected his conduct when he reembursed contributions, they nine conduct that these purported martel desorters little in diffest on O'Donnell's ability in presing law. "O'Donnell's high intelligitates, coupled math a highly experimented them of colleagues and support staff, allowed from to emparatementalize his law practice and channel him manic symptoms in ways that have historically made him the successful latigator ha is today, dagate his bipolar illness." Letter from Daniel A Martell at 11

- 1 investigation, and in the absence of testimony from O'Donnell, there is probable cause to believe
- 2 that he knowingly and willfully violated the Act by making contributions in the names of others
- 3 Accordingly, this Office is prepared to recommend that the Commission find probable cause to
- 4 believe that Pierce O'Donnell and knowingly and willfully violated 2 U S C § 441f

IV. GENERAL COUNSEL'S RECOMMENDATION

1 Rand probable cause to believe that Parce O'Donnell knowingly and willfully violated 2 U S C § 441f

10/26/06

Date

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Lawrence H Norton General Counsel

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Rhonda J Vosduzgh

Associate General Counsel for Enforcement

Mark D Shonkwiler

Assistant General Counsel

Brant S Levine

Attorney

Auda L Wassom

Attorney

Attachment

1 Flow Chart of Reimbursed Contributions

